42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

for you if you can show the girls an *andôri* tattooed on your arm; will they not be eager to get the attentions of such a warrior? Will they not vie with one another in making themselves attractive and pleasing to him? Such a man will be renowned all over the country, and at every public *aly-ám* sacrifice he will recount his brave deeds. Even when he is tottering with old age, people will respect him as they will nobody else, and after he has long been dead, his name will still be pronounced with reverence and given to children as a remembrance of his great deeds, so that his spirit will continue to live on earth in the members of the younger generation who are called by his name. In the realm of the dead his soul will live encircled by the same aureole of a glorious and immortal fame. It is true that actually you can hardly aspire to such great glory: strangers have taken possession of the land, people who know nothing about Isneg heroism and justice, people who would punish you for such an act of courage, people who do not understand that an enemy has no rights, that his head is acceptable to the spirits. But we of the older generation, we at least should not abandon our glorious traditions; and if it might please the spirits or an all-powerful fate to return to us our lost freedom and rid us of constabulary and judges, then, yes, you should not forget that you are an Isneg, that a head is the most precious offering that you can make to the spirits, that taking the head of an enemy, whoever he be, whether dead or alive, will give you a crown not to be equalled by anything else. You know how often these last years we have been visited by locusts and famine. Whose fault is it? Nobody else's but the cursed Ibanags': they forbid us to propitiate the spirits who are craving for human heads, and what can the *anito* do but punish us for our negligence?"

A couple of years ago, a poor Negrito, Kalisto by name, who had just escaped from jail, from which he would have been released very soon as he was innocent of the crime imputed to him, was killed at Tawit by an Isneg, who gave the pygmy's threatening attitude as a pretext for killing him. But after the body had been disinterred and examined, it was found out that a part of the skull was lacking and that it had been severed from the rest by a cutting instrument: this proved to everybody's satisfaction that the case was a headhunting affair and nothing else.

"Every Isneg child should be obedient to its parents. As long as you are unmarried, you have the bounden duty to comply with the wishes of your parents, and not only with those of your parents, but

44: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1941 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

it is made of burnt shells[9] and usually kept in a small calabash (*busiŋán* or *tabáyad*).[10] The betel (*zawád*) may be the same as that used by man (any of several varieties) or it may consist in the very small leaves (*dazupá*) that are absolutely of no use to human beings.

In order to become a proficient farmer it is necessary to have at least a fair knowledge of what the Isneg call the *tazimmatón* or *tazemmatón*, the "signs". Here are a few of them:

The *yaŋyáŋ*, which is supposed to be a small insect: it announces the coming of the dry season, usually some time in March. No Isneg can claim ever to have set eyes upon it, as it is completely invisible: it is known only from its voice, which is very sweet.

The *sibulbúg*, a kind of large bird: its cry announces the arrival of the rainy season, usually some time in November.

The first appearance of the *busúlun* or rainbow, which is one of the multitudinous spirits known by the Isneg: it proves that the rainy season has set in.

The *ariwánat* or Milky Way: if it becomes visible after a prolonged period of rain, it forecasts fair weather for several days to come.

The *bibig*, which is a kind of bird of average size with grey plumage: it foreshadows a period of very heavy rainfall.

Other *tazimmatón* that indicate the time at which some particular kind of work is to be performed, will be mentioned in due time.

As it is exceedingly important for the progress and the final success of any kind of business that all necessary rules be observed, that no taboos be infringed, and that nothing be done that might go counter to the will of the spirits, indicated in various ways, I shall now give a few hints to the farmer with reference to work in the field in general. At the same time, some of these hints may be of use to an Isneg who wants to embark on some enterprise that has nothing to do with farming or gardening.

First of all, the Isneg should be convinced that none of his exertions will be of any benefit to him, if they go on without the blessing and cooperation of the spirits. Therefore, whenever possible, he must recite the following prayer, or a similar one, in the morning, before going to work:

[9] *Dazíkan, azodón*, etc., different kinds of fresh-water gastropods, all of them having a long tapering spire. The *azodón* is larger than the *dazíkan*.

[10] The *tabáyad* is a small white calabash with a very narrow neck, although less narrow than that of the *tagítag*, which is the kind of calabash used by the Isneg when they prepare *inapúran* in honor of the *Pilay*-spirits, at harvesting time.

44: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1941 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Ineg

Umáńnakami iddaggán kiyá agwiwiliyán (Come to wait for us where we go to work).[11]

The text of this prayer was furnished by *Yadán* from Nagbabalayan (O dialect, K branch).

Very often the spirits give the Isneg warning not to work on a certain day, lest he incur their anger and his work be of no avail or the result of it be destroyed or rendered void. He should heed them and keep a holiday (*magúllin*) whenever it is intimated to him. Here follow some of these warnings:

When you hear the voice of one of the following birds: the *buwákaw*, the *bakákaw*, the *bissaxáw*,[12] or the *púro*,[13] for the first time, you must stay at home for one whole day without going out to work. Should you be on your way in the morning, do not proceed, but come back home, and remain there for the rest of the day. Should you hear it in the evening, stay at home the next day. If you happen to hear it again later on, it does not signify anything.

When you hear for the first time the lowing (*úxa*) of a deer (*ugtá*), whether in the evening or at night or early in the morning, do not go to work in the field the next day, whether you be man or woman, because, if you do, the deer will inevitably consume all your plants (*múla*). In some districts, however, this is observed only by men at the time of clearing the ground for a prospective rice field, which is exclusively a man's job.

In case of hail (*ulalázo*), which the Isneg consider as the substance of the rain (*baggát udán*), the following day should be observed as a holiday. The same obtains during the dry season, when there is a shower of heavy rain (*arnáb*), so that rivers and brooks swell considerably, or when the streams become muddy and swollen (*balanbán*),[14] a sure sign that it rained hard somewhere upstream.

When you go to your work in the morning and you meet an omen bird or *labág*[15] that *magsúńit*, turn back (*mazulli*) immediately lest you meet danger on the way. The *magsúńit*-flying is more or less

[11] Literally: Where we go and from where we come back on the same day.

[12] So called from its cry. It is smaller than the *bakákaw* and is usually heard early in the evening.

[13] So called from its cry. It lives in the bushes and may be heard either in the morning or in the evening.

[14] Not to be confounded with *balańbáń*, which is the name of the temporary fence built around the house of a deceased person.

[15] A small bird with red plumage, black at the throat.

44c Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1941 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

intricate and obviously of rather rare occurrence: this is probably the reason why such an unusual way of flying has rendered it suspicious to the natives. It happens like this: the bird flies first from right to left, and then from left to right, in front of the person who is on its way to the field; after that it flies first from front to rear, and then from rear to front, at the right-hand side. This fourfold movement of the *labág*-bird is called *magsúñit*.

If, after having begun (*sumikáp*, " to start work ") any kind of work in the field, you happen to see a buzzard (*bukkáw*) for the first time, or a rat (*butit*) any time, stop then and there, return home and stay here for the rest of the day. As may be seen by the above statement, there is a considerable difference between the two: indeed, a *bukkáw* or buzzard sends you home only when it is seen for the first time, while a rat keeps you idle for a day whenever it makes an appearance.

There are a few other things of importance, which it is very useful for the Isneg to know.

For instance, if you happen to meet the spirit *Gabbuwá* on your way to work and he jumps out in front of you, you may be sure that you will become ill in the near future. Then it is up to you to take your precautions as soon as you come back home.

The influence of the spirit *Baróyan* is also very nefarious: should he accompany you on your way, you will be unable to perform anything worth while and your body will be aching all over; in some cases he has even caused people to become completely mad.

Never walk over the first plant or seed which you confided to the soil, whether it be rice or tobacco or anything else, because, if you are careless in this respect, not a single plant will grow in that particular field or garden of yours.

When you reach home, after having planted (*magmúla, muldn*) something, never take hold of a *báña* [16] in such a way as to insert your hand or your fingers (*magkuwál*). When it is absolutely necessary to take up a *báña*, be careful to touch it only at the outside, otherwise whatever you have planted will be consumed sooner or later by wild animals.

An Isneg who wants to become skilled in planting (*aragmúla*) must try as much as possible to observe what follows:

[16] An earthen jar used for cooking rice, etc.

44: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1941 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

243 A certain amount of rice (or Indian corn) that consists in a mixture of kernels of different colors, white (or yellow) and red, is said to be *naburábur*.

243 192 While other fields have either a common name, or a special name that is derived from the plants that are grown in them, a rice field is universally known all over Apayaw by the very specialized term *kómān*. This term is never applied to other plantations, even though they were formerly used for growing rice; as soon as they are planted with some other product, they cease to be *kómān* and become something else. The same happens to fallow rice fields: as soon as they have been abandoned, they automatically change their name. A former *kómān* that has been left unproductive for one year, is called *balnás*. Should it have remained in that state for over one year, it is an *ubláq*. In case it has been abandoned for a long time, so that it is already partially covered with young trees, it is known as a *bannuwáq*.

In the same way, the sides or edges of a field (whether rice field or not), a garden or an orchard, are known under the general name of *bíkat*, whereas a rice field has the distinction of possessing two sides or *bíkat* that are clearly differentiated by name. The lower part, or rather the edge of the rice field where the man starts his clearing of the ground, is called *atád*; and the opposite or upper edge is the *arpád*; while the common name for both the *atád* and the *arpád* is *nami-tán*. The two other sides, the one to the left and the one to the right when going up from the *atád* to the *arpád*, have to content themselves with the common appellation: *bíkat*.

A *kómān* in which both man and woman have the time of their life to make it productive, is said to be *napgús*, which I am tempted to translate "recalcitrant", or, if you prefer a milder term, "unresponsive". Clearing such a field, weeding it, fencing it, reaping it, every single piece of work that has to be done in it, can be brought to a successful issue only with the utmost difficulty.

317 825 Should it happen that your rice field is situated far away from any kind of source or brook, whether you overlooked this item when making your choice of a patch of ground to be turned into a *kómān*, or because it nevertheless seemed to be the best available for this time, there is an easy way to supply that deficiency: look for a *kumó*, a kind of crab speckled yellow and red, and when you have found it, dig a hole in the ground somewhere at or near your field, and thrust the crab into

44: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1941 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

it; after a comparatively short time the hole will have become a well and, in some cases, even a small pond.

Now before I give a detailed account of the process of growing rice, I shall try to make clear a few things the knowledge of which is of paramount importance to every Isneg farmer.

This has to do with the *Pílăy* or *Ílăy*. Merely to say that they are the tutelary spirits of the palay would be putting it much too mildly, as will be seen presently. The *Pílăy* (in some places called *Ílăy*, in others known by both names) are spirits, some of them female, others male, and all of them young, in fact mere children, but they have a tremendous power either for good or for evil. Here are some names of *Pílăy*-spirits: *Aggăyén, Kano-nít, Darikokkó, Kópań, Rukkiná-, Lapindy, Dapindy, Ruppitá-, Alindodóăy*, etc. The latter is a female *Pílăy*, as she is said to carry palay on her head (*magtotón*), which is the way for women to carry loads; men carry theirs on their shoulders (*mańagtó*). These *Pílăy* will be mentioned over and over later on, but here I shall give their special characteristics, their habitat, a few general means for winning their favor, etc.

Although there are many of them, the *Pílăy* are never gregarious, and so it never happens that two of them are met together in one and the same spot: each of them keeps to his or her own place. Some of them protect the *kómăn*, others reside in granaries, and in every Isneg house a *Pílăy* takes his abode near the post of the house that is next to one of the four corners of the hearth, either at its base, just above the floor, or more especially on the *páxa*, a shelf that is fixed over the hearth.

Pílăy (a term that also means "lame") is not the name of any of the ruling spirits, nevertheless he it is who guards your rice and punishes with lameness any stranger who dares touch a granary that does not belong to him, even though he does so without any malicious intent. Not only does *Pílăy* guard your palay, but he even causes it to increase, and, to accomplish this, he does not shrink from stealing rice for you from people who are not his votaries. One of these *Pílăy* rice thieves is called *Ruńád*. Whosoever is not able to walk, whosoever walks with difficulty, is supposed to have been struck by *Pílăy*, who punishes people not only for touching their neighbor's granary, but also for other acts that may be displeasing to him. Some of *Pílăy*'s victims are *madapindy*, one of their legs is shorter than the other; others are *pákań*, these can hardly walk and their pace is quite irregular; others again are *dapilán*, they crawl over the ground on their

44: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1941 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

knees; and finally there are the *páńol*, who are expressly believed to have been punished by *Pílăy*, not for having trespassed on somebody else's property by touching palay which was not their own, but for havine done something of which he does not approve: the *páńol* are unable to walk or almost so on account of their legs being swollen at the knees.

Whenever an Isneg prepares rice pudding or sweets made from *díkat*-rice, he never fails to give a share to the *Pílăy* who resides in the shelf over the hearth: usually a very small portion is sufficient. Should a shaman do the cooking and at the same time pronounce the following words:

"*Batbattuxám ni N.*" (Satiate N.), *Pílăy* will throw things (pebbles, etc.) at the boy or girl in question as soon as the sweets are being cut into pieces, and this will prove a blessing to the child, as, with *Pílăy's* help, it will be favored with an abundance of palay at the next harvest.

One of *Pílăy's* assistants is the *agammáy, ag-agammáy* or *ugammáy*, a kind of mantis, which usually lives in rice fields, where it helps *Pílăy* increase the palay. These mantes thrive in full security as no Isneg would dare kill such valuable insects.

Here follow a few formulas of prayers that may profitably be addressed to the *Pílăy* at any time, provided they be accompanied with the offering of sweets, that are usually made from *díkat*-rice with the addition of sugar, coconut meat, etc.:

Ne uwámo pílăy séno batbattuxánnaami páyań (Here, this is yours, Pilay, so that you be always satiating us).

Ne uwámo pílăy ta dímo pagtaitán de balbalásań (Here, this is yours, Pilay, so that you do not make the girls sick).

Ne uwámo pílăy ta tuplámmo ka ammáy dăyá ómănmi (Here, this is yours, Pilay, so that you fill our rice fields with rice).

Ne uwámo pílăy ta pannowámmo peyapéyań dăyá álańmi (Here, this is yours, Pilay, so that you always fill our granaries).

Ne uwámo pílăy dínaami pagtaitán (Here, this is yours, Pilay, so that you do not make us sick).

Ne uwámo pílăy aduwámmo ya ammáymi ya ómăn se ya álańmi (Here, this is yours, Pilay, so that you increase our rice on our rice fields and in our granaries).

Ne uwámo pílăy dímo balbalsiánan dăyá tólăy no umáń kiyá síxăy (Here, this is yours, Pilay, so that you do not make the persons sick when they come to the hut [in the field]).

44: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1941 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

[534] under it and that produces a slight sound when pinched on either end. 243 It is also absolutely forbidden to pare one's nails in a new-made 784 *kómān*.

A very favorable omen is the meeting of a nest of *amsí-* in the future 243 rice field. The *amsí-* is a stinging medium-sized red-and-black ant, 825 very thin between thorax and abdomen. Such a find forebodes the 787 lusty growth of rice and of all plants that may subsequently be raised in this field.

Another happening that is eagerly looked for is the finding of a jungle fowl's nest. At such an occurrence all work is momentarily stopped and the only concern of the Isneg is to count the number of eggs it contains, each egg presaging the harvest of one hundred bundles of rice.

[534]

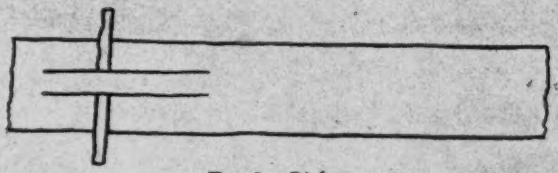

Fig. 3. *Pirây*.

243 When the day's work is over, the Isneg goes home to enjoy a well-262 deserved rest. Here, however, he should be careful, when partaking of a meal, not to eat the crust of the rice (*assíp*), that is, the rice that is next to the pot and has become brown and hardened, because, if he did so, the palay on the field would *umsíp*, which means that it would refuse to grow after having sprung up lustily, and would then wither and become yellow and die. This taboo, however, has to be observed only at the beginning of the *mañumá* or clearing of the field. 243 On subsequent journeys to the field for the purpose of continuing 824 the clearing of the ground, it may happen that one sees along the road a *bitál* (also called *bitúl* and *binitulán*), that is: a cluster of vines or rather a considerable amount of strong vines that have become so intertwined as to form a huge knot. This knot could not have been there before, as it could not have escaped observation, so it is only reasonable to conclude that it has formed after the *mañumá* has been started. In this case the Isneg should retrace his steps and make that day a holiday (*ńílin*). If met in the rice field itself, however, such a knot may remain unheeded, as it has not the slightest influence on the man and his *kómān*.

44: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1941 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

crowning of all efforts, the *xáni* (reaping). Like the *tognó*, the *ballát*[1] is performed exclusively by women. The particular implement used for the purpose is the *paló*- or hoe, although the *ikó*-knife, which never leaves a woman's headband, may be resorted to occasionally.

Magballát means "to weed the field": this is a general term that is also applied to a man who cuts out weeds with his *aliwá* (hatchet). When referring to a more thorough cutting out of weeds, the Isneg use the term *magkirkér*, "to grub up weeds roots included".

There is no special *taximmatón* or sign for this kind of work. The size of the paddy is the only criterion, and everybody must use his own judgment, lest beginning the *ballát* too early, fresh weeds are allowed enough time to grow strong and harm the crop, or lest postponing it too long, some of the paddy has either been exhausted beyond recovery or has become too old and consequently unable to lift up its head after having been trampled upon by the weeders.

After it has been decided to start the weeding, the woman proceeds to the field, usually in the afternoon. Before reaching her *kóman*, she closes the road with a *waláwal*, lest somebody come and unknowingly trespass (*mananút*) on forbidden ground. The *waláwal* consists in a couple of sticks that are placed in the form of a St. Andrew's cross somewhere across the path that leads to the field. Once there, she puts down the amulet called *tapuyá*-, a very low herb that grows in forested areas, and weeds a small patch. After that she comes home and stops there the next day. In the meanwhile nobody is allowed to wander about that particular rice field.

On the third day the *waláwal* is removed and the weeding begins for good. From now on it will be continued until the whole *kóman* is thoroughly cleaned.

The weeds that have been removed are thrown over the fence, at regular intervals, by means of a stick (*magtuwál*), except where it is easier to dispose of them in some other way, for instance by throwing them into a nearby precipice.

Among the insects that are come across in the field at the time of the *ballát*,[1] the following are noteworthy:

The *kibbótot*, a leaping insect, much smaller than the locust: its color is brown except the wings, that are black. It makes a person who eats it sick with the colic, and chickens who feed on it get a swollen belly.

1 [i.e., weeding -- Analyst]

44. Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1941 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

825 The *pāyakán*, a kind of winged ant, that builds its nest preferably in clusters of young bamboo grass. This insect is edible, and even considered as a dainty by the majority of the Isneg.

The *ag-agammáy*, a kind of mantis, mentioned before. If you get hold of it at the time of the *ballát*, take its neck between your fingers, turn it with the legs upwards, and say: "*Pixá ya ammáy-o* (How much palay will I have?)." If it moves one leg, it means *mǵpo* (one hundred *ísiń*-bundles); if two legs, *duwá ńǵpo* (two hundred bundles); if it moves all its legs, it means *annám ńǵpo* (six hundred bundles). One hundred *ńǵpo* is *matúńal* (ten thousand bundles).

776 At this time of the year one should beware of the spirit *Dalánap*, who kills people during the *agbablát* (weeding time).

243 789 As soon as the weeding is over, place some *ibasán* in your field, so that the paddy grow up into sturdy and robust stalks. The *ibasán* is a kind of grass that resembles the sugar cane, but yields no sugar, and grows in abundance all over the district.

After that make a minute inspection of the whole field, and cut down all weeds that may have been overlooked. This second cleaning is called *manábal*, a term also used to mean "putting the finishing touch to the *umá* (clearing the ground)", as has been mentioned before.

The *agbablát* (weeding time) is followed by the *dawdáwat*, when people occupy themselves with the weaving of baskets (*magláza*). Although this business may be accomplished at any time of the year, nevertheless the period that elapses between the *agbablát* and reaping time, is the most suitable, and consequently it has been set aside by custom for that kind of work, and it has been given a special name: *dawdáwat* or *aglaláza*.

All through the *dawdáwat* a diligent Isneg does not fail to *magso-bán* (a term never used for the same kind of work done before weeding time) or go and see if perchance some palay has been harmed through one cause or another. Indeed from now on everything depends on the vigilance of the farmer, as a legion of enemies are ready to pounce upon the field, especially at the time the ears begin to form. But let us not anticipate.

When the paddy is about half grown, it is advisable to place some *apniyán kapónan* in the field, in order to cause the rice to reach its full height quickly and also to keep away harmful insects. The *apniyán kapónan* is a kind of rattan whose bark is reddish and whose leaves are very white underneath.

then went to the plate of bones. He heard a voice which said. "Do not uncover the plate yet, because I have no tapis." Anoy took a tapis and then uncovered the plate. A woman arose from the plate and that woman was Ayu, his own wife. Anoy felt very, very happy because his wife came back to life. This couple lived happily ever after.

WHY THE CROW CHASES THE ORIOLE

825 People say that many years ago, the *dulao*, (oriole) and the gayang (crow) were very good friends. They schemed and made an agreement that each should paint the other in the best color which he could. The oriole said: "My friend crow, will you kindly paint me first?" The crow consented. So the crow painted the oriole first. Then the crow said to the oriole: "All right, now go ahead and paint me also the best that you can." The oriole painted the crow with black only. The crow did not like its color. From that time until now, whenever we see an oriole and a crow, they are chasing each other.

THE DEER AND SNAIL RACE

One day a deer noticed how slowly a shell was walking, and he laughed. The shell was vexed and asked the deer for a race. The deer consented; so they arranged the race. The shell followed the stream; but the deer took the short cut over the hills. Everytime the deer called the shell, it answered from ahead. Finally the deer became tired and angry. He asked the shell to stop. When he reached the shell he kicked

it, but his hoof was divided into two and that was 825
the cause of his death. That is why, when we see
a deer today, each hoof is divided into two.

WHY THE DOGS CHASE THE DEER

In the old days deer and dogs liked each other and wanted to be friends. One day the dogs invited all the deer to come and cement their friendship. All the deer were gathered near the bank of the river. The dogs were there, and they cautioned the deer not to laugh if they happened to see any odd thing: for if they should laugh, it would lead to killing each other. One dog sat down and his penis came out. A small deer saw it and laughed. The dogs did not like this; so they killed the small deer. Since that time dogs and deer kill each other.

Then a deer saw a frog. The frog advised: "If the dogs run after you, then you must dive into the water so that the dogs can not see you. Just watch: I will dive." And then it said: "Did you see me?" The deer replied that he had not. "Now you dive and I will watch you," said the frog. It could see the deer; but it only tricked the deer into thinking that it could not be seen under the water. Since then a deer always runs to the river when it is being chased by a dog.

WHY THE SIGUCOC DOES NOT FLY HIGH

(Nabuangan River Dialect)

000 *Negyan issa ñga an-ance nu kumayab datñgan naya Lañgit. Ked no nagawi-a panpanas kan ya dinmumsag na kia guinat. Aggina ya ñga ñgammin daya Sñigucoc nec-lot ya didut da ta nagabi dakano. Madida makakayab ke issa ñga kilometro onno doapolo ñga metres kataknang na. Ta nepapas dakano ya kataknang ya Lañgit."*

825 One there lived a bird, *Sigucoc.* The Sigucoc is a very intelligent bird. One day she flew and tried to reach the sky. But when she came down, her beauty was faded because she was very tired. And from that time, we cannot see a Sigucoc having nice feathers. It can only fly a short distance and not very high. This bird is still tired from the time when she went up to the sky.

Ananoc Nga Kokling

HOW A BIRD GOT ITS NAME

(Bayag River Dialect)

825 ——*Ito nona ñga aldao owad da ano ananoc ñga nahamo.*

——During the olden days, it was believed that there were many untamed and nameless birds.

——*Isa ñga aldao owad ñga bacbaccat ñga nagnangan ka ne Digaya ñga magloto ito nmoblan a linañgac.*

825

——One day a woman named Digaya was cooking molasses in a caldron.

——*Kaneno maggorgoroc to sinoblan owad da ñga dua ñga ananoc ñga inombet ito giyanna ñga maglato.*

——While the caldron of water was boiling, two birds came fluttering around the smoky place. The two birds fought with their bills.

——*Iton ñga pinagsimtoc da nepesok to isa.*

——During their fight with their bills, one of the birds was partly submerged in the boiling caldron so that its head was completely scalded.

——*Panda ito nin atan ñga ananoc ñga coleo ya alintotogo na.*

——From that time until now, we find this bird having no feathers on its head.

——*Tolalahan na ñga idi ñga anoc nagnangan ka kokling ata auan na doddat ya alo na.*

——That was how this bird "*kokling*" got its name—which means in the dialect: "featherless on the head" or "having no hair".

WHY THE CROW SINGS WACK-WACK

In the days of long ago, the crow (*gayang or oqwack*) used to be the best singer of all birds.

One day she was singing in a tree top near the home of a monkey mother. The monkey invited her to her home to sing for her children. The crow was so delighted that she accepted the invitation at once. The crow thought to herself that that was her chance to exhibit her beautiful voice. When all the

825 other monkeys should have noticed how sweetly she sang, they would surely always call upon her to sing again and again for them.

Not knowing the deceit in the monkey's invitation, she promptly presented herself before the mother monkey. After she had sang several songs, father monkey appeared and took hold of the crow. He patted her and said: "You sing so well." Then he began to choke her until she became unconscious. Father monkey let her loose and said: "Now you may sing. I think that you can sing better now." The crow tried to sing; but all she could utter was "wack-wack": so that all the monkeys laughed at her.

Up to this day the crow still sings "wack-wack."

THE ORIGIN OF THE HAWK

Many, many years ago there was an only child of a man and a woman. The child was about six years old. This small boy became very hungry and went [855] to his father, asking for sugar cane. His father was very angry at being disturbed in his work; but he had to get the sugar cane because his son cried so. Then the boy asked his father to peel his sugar cane; but the man refused and instead, sent him to his mother to do it. The small boy ran to his mother to get it done; but she sent him back to his father to do as he wished. The child was kept running back and forth.

The sixth time that the child ran, he become very tired and began to cry bitterly. Then he said to himself, "How I wish that I would become a hawk so that

my parents can often see me crying in the air." Instantly, the boy became a hawk and flew away with his sugar cane. When his parents saw their son in the air, they were very sad; but it was their fault Now-a-days, when we hear the cry of the hawk in the air, it seems to say: *"Ko-wittannmu."* 325

THE ORIGIN OF THE BALSIT

(A Bird Of Omen)

(Nabuangan River Dialect)

"To issa ñga algao negyan napia ñga babay. Ado kano ya molog ñga mangasdwan ñga mamempolo ñgan matay kammin ya asawana. Negyan issa ñga manadog kagginà. Madi ya waqui na ya lalaki ta matay kammin ya asawana ñgen adi magalis ya lalaki ta kayat na ya babay. Mammat ko basi kia sobwab. Ado ya manalan kia allam y abalay. Lumañgad ya tolay kia allam ya balay nasingan naya oki naga domandami. Nodoho-e na kano ya bolo kia allam ya oki na. Nelelyao ya babay ay nagtawang kia naggad. Kiddenin ta nebabainak kia ko tawanga-c ikao ñgem no manalan na-c kia dalan nadake-c. No awad objas ta nadake-c ya anggac co adim ibalin. Kimmayab ya babay ta nagbalin ke balsit."

Once there lived a beautiful woman. She was so beautiful that everybody admired her. She married ten times; but all the husbands died soon after the marriage. There was another who desired to marry her. The brother of the woman hesitated to let him since all the previous husbands had died. However,

825 as the man insisted, the brother (allowed the marriage to go on and) went under the house to get wine. Some persons in the house happened to walk so heavily
[83] that he look up. There he saw that the dilating vulva of the woman had sharp teeth (the cause of the former husbands' death). The woman was so ashamed that she ran outside. She said: "You made me so ashamed that I am going to leave you. When I pass across your path, you must return because it signifies ill. If you do something else and I sing in a scolding voice, you must discontinue your work." The woman then became a bird, *balsit*, and flew away.

THE ORIGIN OF MONKEYS

One summer day some women were planting rice in their kaiñgin. At noon while the sun was hot, they rested in the shelter erected in the kaiñgin. They amused themselves by telling many stories. They slept after telling their stories. The sun was very hot. The ground was very hot, too. They could not work well in that heat. Their backs and heads would suffer in the heat of the sun. So they slept.

After awhile they woke up, prepared, and chewed *buyo*. They drank much water. The sun was still very hot. It was ont yet time for them to plant rice. They had nothing to do in the shelter. Then they thought to catch the lice in each other's hair. Each sat behind another while she hunted and caught the lice on her head. There were many lice in their hair. There were big lice and small ones, too. One of the women said, "Let us play with these lice." "Oh, yes,"

said all the others. They began to hunt for the biggest lice on the heads of their companions. All of them had big lice. They placed the lice on a piece of board. They let the lice fight. It was great fun for them. The lice fought, while they shouted and laughed. They enjoyed watching the lice fight, biting and killing each other. 825

But something was happening outside. The light began to fade as if the sun was going down. Thick clouds were in the sky. A strong wind began to blow. After a while there was both a heavy rain and strong wind. The wind increased in violence. The streams all became swollen. All around was darkness. The women in the little shelter became greatly frightened. They cried very loudly. Then all of a sudden there was a loud noise. The hill above where they were, burst open and there was a big landslide down upon their shelter. Some of the women were buried under the earth.

Those who were not buried were frightened out of their wits. They ran to the forest nearby. They could by now no longer talk. They started to climb the trees Their bodies were changing; hair grew all over their bodies. The wooden sticks which they had used to make holes in the ground when they planted the grains of rice, became their tails. They all became monkeys and so they remain to this day.

Nagganayan na ya Carat

THE ORIGIN OF THE MONKEYS

(Bayag River Dialect)

825——*Ito nabayagen ñga aldao owad da ano anam ñga magwawagi.*

——A long, long time ago, there lived in a settlement named Sidaga, six sisters.

——*Tungal aldao mapan daydi ñga magtogno ito oman ne amada.*

——Everyday, these six sisters would enter their father's kaiñgin to plant rice.

——*Ngam owad isa ñga aldao napalutan to sinag nagimang da tagdan na ya ayo ñga dahal.*

——One day, when these six sisters were planting in their father's kaiñgin, the sun was so hot that they decided to rest. There they rested under a big, shady tree.

——*Iton ñga pinaggimang da naglalangod da ñga nagiihoto. Nagtogao da ito ballang da.*

——While they were resting under the shady tree, they decided to pick each other's lice. So they sat one before the other, on their iron planting sticks.

——*Caneno owa nahasmac isa bagida a dahal ñga gagana. Idi ñga oto pinaglahal da laton.*

——While they were picking (lice) from one another's head, one of them found three big lice. They furnished fun with these lice by making them fight with each other.

825

——*Sinan da ñgela magsatan ka kalac.*

——Because of the funny thing which they had done with the big lice, they laughed and laughed, until a tiny man appeared before them.

——*Idi ñga tolay-mona—pagbalinan tahayo iyan ka sabali ñga kita ta negagala no ya ota.*

——The man stood before them having a queer voice and being angry in appearance. They recognized that it was mystical.

——*Accan pam nagbayag panda iton nagpasiñgam nato melekay agida nagbelin to dua bagida ñgin.*

——Not long after that, the strange man disappeared and two of the sisters were changed into monkeys. (This was repeated until all the other four were changed into monkeys).

——*Ito saguac da ñga nagtotogauan da ta da nag balin ke ipot da.*

——Their iron sticks (used for planting the rice seeds) on which they had sat down, became by a change, their tails.

——*Ito lahan na ñga attan ramay naya carrat se ipot da atta babbay da etta babbay da ito nona ñga aldao.*

——That is why the monkeys nowadays are found with tails. They have fingers like human beings because previously they were maidens.

WHY THE BIRDS EAT THE RICE AND CORN DURING THE HARVEST

(In the Nabuañgan River Dialect)

000 *"Negyan na lalaki ya nagan na Lipliput. Ya ibagana awan na pules sa ammay ey maiz, ñga imola da kanu. Awad ammay ey maiz ñgen natacnang ya gian da kano ñga gadday aggina ya aoan makalac kidaya tolay. Issa ñga sassa-joc kummay yal kan de Bignas en gayang ke balay da. Ey awayya da alak kan ya ammay ey maiz ta kumayab da kano. Melbet da kammon kidaya gian naya tolay ñgem panda kianin ya Dignas makikkan ka ammay ya gayang konwa pe kia maiz."*

825
241 There was a man whose name was Lipliput. He reputed that there was no rice nor corn except that upon a high, rocky precipice, which people could not climb; and even animals could not get to the rice and corn. One morning the rice-bird and the crow flew to the house of that man and told him that, if he would share with them, they would go and get the rice and corn. Of course the man was pleased and said: "Yes, I will share with you accordingly as you wish." Then they flew to the high, rocky precipice: the rice-bird got the rice, while the crow got the corn and brought them to the man. The man was pleased: thinking that the birds would have no more to do with the rice and corn. But the reason why from that time on during harvest, rice-birds are accustomed to damage rice and crows damage corn is because they were the ones who brought the seeds which (Lipliput) planted.

000 Dumallawi hung the G-string on the spear: for he had forgotten the order which had been given him. Instantly, there was a big fire and all the houses were burned. All the beautful flowers were turned ugly. For this reason the people abandoned Buneg, their home.

WHY SOME FISH HAVE SCALES

825 Once upon a time a husband and his wife had an only daughter. She was so beautiful that her parents adored her so much that they spoiled her as much as they adored her. Everyone admired her for her beauty; but they hated her for all her pride and vanity.

One day she was taking a walk along the bank of a river. When she became tired, she sat down on a big stone where her beautiful face was reflected in the clear, running water. When she saw her image, she said to herself with pride: "I am the most beautiful girl in the neighborhood and no one can surpass me." While she was talking to herself, the chief of the crabs, named Bonowag, came and sat by her side, unnoticed by her. When she noticed that someone had been sitting by her side, she got up and said angrily: "How dare you to come near me, as ugly as you are. I never in my whole life saw such a creature as ugly as you." Bonowag became angry in turn and said: "For all your pride I'll add some more to your unsurpassed beauty." Then he scratched her face: whereupon scales began to grow on it. The girl, upon seeing what had happened to her once beautiful face, was so enraged that she took a stick and struck the chief

of the crabs right on his forehead. Bonowag, because he had suffered so much pain and humiliation, grabbed the stick and struck the girl once and said: "From now on you will be a member of the river family (the fish with scales); but, not of the crabs. 825

To this day the beautiful girl still bears the scales.

THE FOOLISH MOTHER

Long, long ago there was a woman whose name was Sibbara-yonan, and her daughter was Dommaria. 000

One day they went to the forest to obtain bark for G-strings. When they were in the middle of the forest, the mother told her daughter that they would gather as much bark as they could carry home. When the mother had gathered bark enough for herself to carry, she went home without her daughter.

The daughter was thus left in the forest collecting her own bark. When she had gathered bark enough for herself to carry home, she shouted for her mother, calling: "Mother, wait for me; mother." The mother was not there any more. As nobody answered her, Dommaria thought that her mother was still there gathering her bark. "Maybe she is looking for some more," she said. So she continued to go along humting bark for her G-strings until she met a big snake. The big snake told Dommaria to follow it to its cave. "Oh no," she replied. "I cannot follow you for I am afraid that you will eat me." "No, I will not eat you," said the snake. "Come to my house and, after a few days, I will take you home to your mother." So Dommaria followed the snake to its cave.